



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

LYLY'S *ENDIMION*: AN ADDENDUM

M. Albert Feuillerat in his notable volume on John Lyly¹ has offered one more version of the personal allegory long since suspected to lie concealed in *Endimion*. Building on the fact that Cynthia in several passages is to be thought of primarily as Queen Elizabeth,² he contends, as does R. W. Bond, that Tellus represents Mary Queen of Scots; the Castle in the Desert, her prison at Tutbury Castle; and Corsites, her jailor, Sir Amyas Paulet. Differentiating here, he interprets Dipsas as her ally, the papacy; Endimion, as her son, James VI of Scotland; and Eumenides, as Patrick Gray, an emissary from James to Elizabeth. On this basis, the story of the play is the negotiation of the treaty by which James abandoned his mother for Elizabeth, and Mary's unavailing plots with papal agencies to regain ascendancy over her son.

In common with all previous explanations of the play, this rests on no positive external or internal evidence. It is an attempt to explain a play which appears enigmatic. Therefore M. Feuillerat proposes the laudable method: "Mettons-nous à la place d'un spectateur de l'époque; écoutons ce que dit la pièce . . . nous partirons de la pièce pour arriver à l'histoire" (p. 157). But why "l'histoire"? This is a priori. M. Feuillerat does not question the existence of a political allegory. Having published without noticing a recent monograph in the *Amer. Mod. Lang. Assn. Publ.*,³ he failed to reckon with the explanation of the play therein as an impersonal allegory of courtly love. With that explanation uncontroverted, the reason for seeking a personal allegory is removed. Nevertheless, since this has been proposed with some confidence

¹ *John Lyly*. Contribution à l'histoire de la renaissance en Angleterre. Cambridge: University Press, 1910.

² The *Oxford English Dictionary* under "Cynthia" overlooks this use for Elizabeth, though it occurs in Spenser, Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, Raleigh, and a dozen others.

To cite Milton 1632 as its earliest occurrence as a name for the moon is the less pardonable since the second citation (from Otway) is reminiscent of famous lines from *Romeo and Juliet*.

³ XXIV, No. 1 (March, 1909): Percy W. Long, "The Purport of Lyly's *Endimion*." The paper was read before the Conference at Princeton University, December, 1908.

(pp. 187-90), the inquiry is inevitable: Does this latest version serve to explain the data of the play?

M. Feuillerat's "méthode logique" (p. 157) is to decide first that there is a personal allegory;¹ second, that Cynthia represents Elizabeth; third, that Tellus must therefore represent Mary; fourth, that Endimion must therefore represent James, etc., etc.² The first step is assumed; the second, universally conceded. As to the third, however—the cornerstone of the personal allegory—both Mr. Bond and M. Feuillerat express such confidence that they agree in dating the play 1586 on no other definitive ground.³ The latter avows (p. 163): "S'il subsistait un doute sur l'identification de Tellus avec Marie, ce serait à désespérer de pouvoir jamais expliquer une allégorie."

The strength of this position is that Tellus represents a beautiful, vindictive, much-courted lady, in love with the lover of Cynthia, and later imprisoned at her command. This befits the personality of Mary and her imprisonment by Elizabeth. True, the rivalry between Elizabeth and Mary was not in love affairs, except with reference to Leicester, and Leicester by previous discussions has been eliminated. But Lyly might represent other rivalry, and still recognizably to the audience, under this form. True again, Cynthia is unconscious of any rivalry with Tellus, not knowing of the latter's love for Endimion till the end of the play (V, iii, 57-94). But Lyly in this way might flatter the hauteur of the queen, and the courtly audience might understand. Then too, the place of confinement is called "The Castle in the Desert" (III, i, 41-42), and at least twice Mary wrote of herself as "captive en un deserte" (p. 161). True, the phrase occurs but once in the play; later, where opportunity offers (III, ii; IV, i; V, iii, 252), nothing is made of it as a topical hit. No definiteness is attached to the scene, except where the "Deserte"

¹ He urges only that the myth is transferred to scenes resembling court life (p. 143), and that the play is not intelligible without such an allegory (p. 156). But see "Purport," pp. 173-75.

² Since M. Feuillerat remarks (p. 159, n. 4) that his identification of Tellus preceded the appearance of R. W. Bond's edition of Lyly in 1903, it is beside the point to remark that historically his method is the elimination of Leicester and substitution of James VI on the lines attributed to Halpin (p. 156).

³ See Bond, II, 289; Feuillerat, p. 577. The euphuism in *Galathea* is not widely different from that in *Endimion*. See C. G. Child, *John Lyly and Euphuism* (Erlangen, 1894), p. 99.

(V, iii, 66-68) is shown to be infested with "Lyons, Tygars, Bores, and Beares," fauna which do not suggest the environs of Tutbury Castle. Still, the phrase might be caught by an attentive audience.

Other circumstances urged in favor of this identification do not appear to have equal force. It is vain to urge that both Tellus and Mary embroider during captivity. The conventional pastime would befit any two captive ladies of that period. Moreover, the solitary picture of Endimion wrought by lovelorn Tellus (V, iii, 253) for her own contemplation, in slack disregard of Cynthia's commands, corresponds ill with Mary's "petits travaux à l'aiguille qu'elle envoyait à sa bonne sœur d'Angleterre" (p. 162). Again, the fact that Mary "ne cessa d'intriguer contre sa cousine" (p. 160) cannot be seen shadowed in the plots of Tellus; for Tellus nowhere plots against Cynthia. Mary was imprisoned for such plots; but Tellus is imprisoned only for her carping "long tongue" (III, i, 34-42, 45).

These discrepancies do not interfere with the identification: they merely remove the allegations in its favor. Though M. Feuillerat alludes (p. 162) to numerous striking details of correspondence between Tellus and Mary, I have found none that are individual;¹ certainly there is no overt allusion to things Scottish, French, or papal; to the problem of the succession;² to the many love affairs of Mary, or her otherwise checkered history. To grasp securely an allegory lacking in these respects Lyly's audience must have been singularly alert. Yet M. Feuillerat (p. 188) will not concede to the dramatist a right to any obscurity: "Toute incertitude, toute obscurité sont fatales aux intentions de l'auteur" (p. 189). He considers (p. 190) that "l'auteur dramatique doit présenter son allégorie avec une netteté et une clarté parfaites"; and that "Lyly s'est conformé à ces lois de la bonne allégorie dramatique." What, then, are the decisive signs which impress on Lyly's hearers the identity of Tellus with Mary?

That Tellus is treated as "une femme d'un rang égal à celui

¹ M. Feuillerat notes (p. 162, n. 7) the words of Tellus (V, iii, 73): "Cynthia, by whom I receive my life," as alluding to Elizabeth's clemency toward Mary. But they are explained by the physical allegory, in which (see I, ii, 27-30) earth cannot bloom without the influence of the moon.

² Where Cynthia styles Endimion "the hope of succeeding time" (V, iii, 36-37), M. Feuillerat sees an "allusion au titre d'héritier que Jacques avait enfin obtenu" (p. 181). But, unless for cogent reasons, *succeeding* must here bear the sense of *ensuing*.

d'Elizabeth" (p. 159) has been urged as pointing uniquely to Mary. But is not her conspicuousness accounted for sufficiently by the physical allegory and the absence of any third major female character? I do not find in her "une attitude indépendante et hautaine" (p. 158). On the contrary she says: "In maiestie, beautie, vertue, and dignitie, I alwaies humbled and yeelded my selfe to Cynthia" (V, iii, 145-47). She does not class herself with Cynthia among the "Goddesses" (V, iii, 149);¹ and avers that from Cynthia she receives her life (V, iii, 73). Cynthia she esteems "the myracle of Nature, of tyme, of Fortune." She contends only for equality "in affections" (V, iii, 147), for some "comparison" in "beauty" (I, ii, 16, 19), and that her thoughts are free (III, ii, 6-8). M. Feuillerat abandons the caution of R. W. Bond (III, p. 91) in saying: "on l'appelle 'Madame,' titre qui, dans la pièce, n'est attribué qu' à elle et à Cinthia" (p. 159). Floscula, her confidante, once addresses her as "Madame" (I, ii, 1); no one does so again. Customarily she is addressed as *faire lady* (I, ii, 27; I, iv, 18), as *faire Tellus* (II, i, 57; III, ii, 1; IV, i, 28), as *lady* (III, ii, 23), or less ceremoniously. Tellus, however, repeatedly addresses Cynthia as "Madame" (III, i, 36; V, iii, 92, 118, 130, 151, 245) and in her presence is markedly deferential. Cynthia uses no ceremony toward her, and once calls her "presumptuous" (III, i, 40). Floscula, even while styling Tellus "Madame" (I, ii, 13), bids her: "Compare the state [rank] of Cynthia with your owne, and the height of Endimion his thoughts, with the meanenesse [mediocrity] of your fortune . . . being betweene you and her no comparison." Even at this point the audience could not fail to sense their marked disparity.

Again, the fact that Tellus in the physical allegory represents Earth enables M. Feuillerat, from a single passage, to infer that she also personifies maternity. Tellus says (I, ii, 25-26): "Infinite are my creatures, without which neyther thou, nor Endimion, nor any could loue, or liue."² But the creatures mentioned, corn, vines, grass, etc., indicate that Tellus is thought of as the goddess of culti-

She regards princely rank as "higher fortune" than her own (III, ii, 13-15). See Feuillerat, p. 159, n. 4.

² M. Feuillerat (p. 167) understands *which* to mean *who* (read *whom*). This forces the construction without reason. The allusion in *loue* is to the proverb, "Sine Cerere et Baccho friget Venus"; cf. *Love's Metamorphosis*, V, i, 46.

vated fields, as source of nutriment,¹ rather than universal mother. Maternity to be sure accords well enough with Mary. But Tellus terms herself "a poore credulous virgin" (I, ii, 8) and "an unspotted virgin" (IV, ii, 57), terms which, in a personification of maternity, must prove misleading to an audience, however prone to Mariolatry. Furthermore, Tellus calls herself "accursed gyrlle" (IV, i, 13), and Cynthia addresses her as "presumptuous gyrlle" (III, i, 40). At the end of the play she is described (V, iii, 57) as of "so few yeres." Tellus, therefore, is clearly not a matron but a maid.

The data in brief describe Tellus (if a historic personage) as a fair young virgin of Queen Elizabeth's court, vainly loving a lover of the Queen; imprisoned for slandering him; thwarted in revengefully attempting to estrange them; pardoned after the confession of her love, and given in marriage² to the martial but susceptible courtier who was first her gaoler and later her accomplice.

In 1586, by contrast, Mary had been for nineteen years a mother, for seventeen a prisoner; dangerous from her plots against the Queen, but not against the Queen's lovers, with none of whom she seems to have been in love; and innocent of all design to marry her Puritanical and inflexible gaoler.

"Mettons-nous à la place d'un spectateur de l'époque." In hearing the single phrase "The Castle in the Deserte," Elizabeth might recall Mary's letter of not quite a year before, styling herself "captive en un deserte." Must we assume that Lyly and his audience had heard it bruited about the court? If so, the exploitation is singularly meager. And would the Virgin Queen have been pleased to recognize Mary in a virgin?

[M. Feuillerat seeks to identify Endimion as James VI of Scotland. But Endimion contrasts with James in personality, place of residence, and social station. M. Feuillerat describes (p. 169, n.) the retired youth of James, "timide, de santé délicate." He overlooks the lines (V, i, 60-62): "Am I that Endimion who was wont in Iustes, turneys, and armes to exercise my

¹ Such again is the significance where Dipsas (II, iii, 38-39) speaks of culling from Tellus her "simples."

² R. W. Bond (II, 91) accounts for the ultimate marriage of Tellus and Corsites, though Mary did not marry her gaoler, by averring that "concluding marriages are a necessity of comedy." M. Feuillerat would have it (p. 188, n. 2) that thus "Lyly laissait entendre que Marie Stuart allait être plus que jamais la prisonnière de Sir Amyas Paulet." But Cynthia grants Tellus "pardon for all that is past" (V, iii, 244).

youth?" James indeed avoided ladies, but from distaste; Endimion urges his solitary life as a proof of his great love. Tellus is imprisoned after the enchantment of Endimion. As Mary was imprisoned before James was three years old, this would make Endimion a surprisingly precocious lover, and the more so as he had then led a solitary life for "almost these seven years" (II, i, 14) and had previously taken part in tournaments. Small wonder M. Feuillerat observes (p. 151, n. 1): "Il est même dit qu'il était 'almost but newlie come forth of the cradle'" (III, iv, 20). But M. Feuillerat will perhaps date Mary's imprisonment from her transfer to Tutbury Castle. At any rate, no nursling is represented in the lines (II, i, 21-22): "Have I not spent my golden yeeres in hopes, waxing old with wishing?" Again, James dwelt in Scotland. Cynthia, however, styles Endimion "the flowre of my Courte" (V, iii, 36). She sees him sleeping with Corsites (IV, iii) and has a guard set over him. The lunary bank is therefore near her court. Finally, though James negotiated officially for a marriage with Elizabeth, Endimion repeatedly avows (II, i, 92-100; V, iii, 162-75) that he dare not term his affection love, because: "Such a difference hath the Gods sette between our states [stations] that all must be dutie, loyaltie, and reverence."

M. Feuillerat recognizes that the relations of Tellus and Endimion are *prima facie* not those of mother and son. He credits Lyly with wishing to gloss over their relationship, making them appear as sexual lovers in order to dull the Queen's sense of her greater age—"faire oublier à la reine cette gênante supériorité que lui donnait la fuite du temps." But Elizabeth could lose none of her nine years' seniority by this transfer of Mary from the elder generation to the younger. Again he observes (p. 169): "Montrer la triomphe de la reine sur une mère n'eût pas été très flatteur." Then Lyly had best not written: for this the audience must see if they saw the allegory.

To support his unprecedented conception, M. Feuillerat suggests a personification of the youthful virgin Tellus as maternity, and (pp. 164-65) certain alleged inconsistencies in the behavior of Endimion and Tellus. Two passages only are offered as direct proof of a maternal relation. "Et comme Tellus lui posait cette embarrassante question: 'Alors, vous m'aimez, Endimion?' il répond par cette phrase amphibologique, ou est très habilement rappelé le lien qui unissait Jacques à Marie: 'Sans cela, je ne vivrais pas'" (p. 173). To be sure, if one to live must love, the person loved perforce need not necessarily be one's mother. But did Lyly mean *if it were not for that, I should not be living*. The passage reads (II, i, 58):

"*Tellus*.—Then you loue me *Endimion*.

End.—Or els I liue not *Tellus*."

The argument is no less a mistranslation than a nonsequitur.

Finally, when Tellus yielded to love, she felt (in her nature as Earth) "a continuall burning in all my bowels, and a bursting almost in euerie vaine" (V, iii, 98-99), words which, in M. Feuillerat's judgment (p. 168),

"eussent dû suffire pour déterminer les relations entre Endimion et Tellus, car ils peignent avec une précision remarquable le genre d'affection que peut éprouver une mère pour l'être auquel elle a donné le jour au milieu de la souffrance." But the pregnant connotation of these "burnings" and "bursting" [varicose?] veins is hardly borne out by the "smoke" and "sparkes" of Earth's volcanic emotions, which Endimion "sware in respect of his were as fumes to Aetna" (V, iii, 107). The physical allegory accounts for Lyly's language here "avec une netteté et une clarté parfaites."]

PERCY W. LONG

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
August 1910